

SACRED LANDSCAPES, SPIRITUAL TRAVEL: EMBODIED HOLINESS AND  
LONG-DISTANCE PILGRIMAGE IN THE CATHOLIC REFORMATION.

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ABSTRACT. Long regarded as a medieval tradition which declined into insignificance after Luther, pilgrimage expanded considerably from the mid-sixteenth century, until well after 1750. This essay examines long-distance journeys to shrines, rather than sacred sites themselves, to explore how landscapes travelled were perceived, experienced and used by pilgrims in the Counter Reformation. Using theory such as phenomenology, the focus is on autobiographical accounts of pilgrimages to two case study sites, the Mont Saint-Michel in Normandy, northern France and Santiago de Compostela, in Galicia, north west Spain, roughly between 1580 and 1750. These were shrines with origins in the early medieval period and which attracted a clientele over long distances. These pilgrimages were also in some way affected by religious conflict in the sixteenth century, whether by direct attack by Huguenots as at the Mont, or by war-time disruptions of its routes as with Compostela, as well as the theological and polemical attacks on the practice of pilgrimage itself by Protestant authors. Pilgrimage studies have examined ‘place’ – the shrine – but a focus on ‘landscape’ allows for a consideration of wider religious and cultural contexts, relations and experiences in this period of religious change.

In 1604, the Jesuit Louis Richeome described the purpose of pilgrimage in *The Pilgrim of Loreto*:

‘All men have always been and remain, pilgrims and travellers on the earth ... and those to whom we give the special term ‘Pilgrim’, travelling towards a specific destination in the world ... are no more than ordinary men, unless they intentionally do more. For all mortals walk by necessity towards the grave, but if they are wise pilgrims, they direct themselves towards the heavenly kingdom.’<sup>1</sup>

In simpler terms, the *Dictionnaire universelle* of 1690, defined pilgrimage as ‘a journey of devotion’ while later reference works described a pilgrim as one ‘who, out of piety, journeys to a place of devotion’.<sup>2</sup> Throughout, the emphasis was on travel. The destination could be physical – a place – but also spiritual, the attainment of grace. Pilgrimage was thus intimately bound to journey and ultimately to the landscape in which this occurred. While studies of both pilgrimage and landscape have flourished in the last two decades, their connections have attracted less attention. While there has been significant interest in place-based spiritual experiences, there has been relatively little interrogation of the relationship between sacred places, their landscape aesthetics and accounts of spiritual experience.<sup>3</sup> In this essay, the relationship between journeys of devotion and the physical environment will be examined, in an exploration of the impact of the Reformations on European Catholic perceptions of religious space.

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<sup>1</sup> Louis Richeome, ‘Le pèlerin de Lorète’, in *Les Oeuvres du R. Père Richeome*, 2 vols (Paris, 1628), I, p. 215.

<sup>2</sup> Antoine Furetière, *Dictionnaire universelle*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1690), III, 85; for example, *Le Dictionnaire de l’Académie Française*, 2 vols. (Paris, 4th edition, 1762), 338, which was widely copied.

<sup>3</sup> V. della Dora, A. Maddrell, A. Scafi and H. Walton (eds), *Christian Pilgrimage, Landscape and Heritage: Journeying into the sacred* (London, 2014), 1.

For as long as we can ascertain, humanity's search for the sacred was frequently connected to physical sites, whether a temple, shrine or natural feature. In his work of 1959, *The Sacred and the Profane*, Mircea Eliade proposed that the sacred was defined by space and time.<sup>4</sup> From the 1960s onwards, anthropologists and historians developed this paradigm to define sacred space 'as an essential category of human experience' which, as Eric Nelson writes, 'emerges and persists as both an experienced physical location and an imagined set of cognitive associations.'<sup>5</sup> Historians of the Reformations have paid particular attention to the concept of sacred space, for it had an important role in the shaping, defining and contesting of religious identity. How God operated in the physical world – immanence – was one of the great questions of the Reformation, for the working of divine power in sacred places was contested. Protestants largely rejected sacred materiality and in its Reformed version at least, in Daniel Miller's words 'tended towards iconoclasm and asceticism as attempts to foreground the importance of immateriality to spirituality.'<sup>6</sup> Catholics, however, retained the belief that grace could work in special locations and through physical objects. The greatest expression of immanence was the real presence in the eucharist but also in saints' remains and holy places, whose efficacy was reaffirmed by the Council of Trent in 1563.<sup>7</sup> In the Counter Reformation, therefore, shrines were rebuilt and embellished, cults restored and defended, and landscapes of sacrality were revived and refined. Pilgrimage re-emerged across Catholic Europe as a marker of revived religious confidence and an overt statement of orthodoxy in the face of Protestant attacks.

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<sup>4</sup> Mircea Eliade, *Sacred and the Profane. Nature of Religion*, transl. by W. R. Trask (New York, 1959).

<sup>5</sup> Eric Nelson, 'The Parish in its Landscape: Pilgrimage Processions in the Archdeaconry of Blois, 1500–1700', *French History* 24 (2010), 320.

<sup>6</sup> Daniel Miller, *Stuff* (Cambridge, 2010), 71.

<sup>7</sup> Session XXV of 3–4 December 1563. Norman Tanner ed., *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols (London & Washington, 1990), II, 796–97.

Long regarded as a medieval tradition which declined into insignificance after Luther, religious travel in fact expanded considerably from the mid-sixteenth century, until well after 1750. Many shrines were small, attracting a local clientele but the great pilgrimages of the middle ages also revived, Rome and its satellite Loreto, Einsiedeln, Altötting, Puy-en-Vélay, Monserrat, Santiago de Compostela and others. According to Joe Bergin, there re-emerged a 'complex, interlocking geography of national, provincial and local sites of devotion and pilgrimage'.<sup>8</sup> This essay will examine long-distance journeys to shrines, rather than sacred sites themselves, to explore how these were perceived, experienced and used by pilgrims in the Counter Reformation. Shrines themselves will not be examined. The focus will be on two case studies, pilgrimages to the Mont Saint-Michel in Normandy, northern France and Santiago de Compostela, in Galicia, north west Spain, roughly between 1580 and 1750. These were sites with origins in the early medieval period and which attracted a clientele over long distances. These pilgrimages were also in some way affected by religious conflict in the sixteenth century, whether by direct attack by Huguenots as at the Mont, or by war-time disruptions of its routes as with Compostela, as well as the theological and polemical attacks on the practice of pilgrimage itself by Protestant authors. Pilgrimage studies have been attentive to 'place' – the shrine – as 'a material site of meaning-making, representation and experience', but while place, particularly notions of sacred place, is significant, a focus on 'landscape' allows a consideration of wider contexts, relations and experiences in this period of religious change.<sup>9</sup>

Recently, the process of journeying to and from holy sites, the landscape aesthetics of pilgrims and their spiritual experiences, have been examined by anthropologists studying

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<sup>8</sup> Joe. Bergin, *Church, Society and Religious Change in France 1580–1730* (New Haven and London, 2009), 246–48.

<sup>9</sup> della Dora et al, (eds), *Christian Pilgrimage, Landscape and Heritage*, 5–6.

contemporary movements, from the Hajj to the Camino in Spain.<sup>10</sup> The pilgrim route, destination shrine and their wider landscapes are often deeply inter-twined as part of the pilgrim experience.<sup>11</sup> Simon Coleman and John Eade argue that various forms of motion – embodied, imagined, metaphorical – are constitutive elements of many pilgrimages, for ‘in certain cases ... mobile performances can help to construct – however temporarily – apparently sacredly charged places.’<sup>12</sup> The performance of journeying and the body-centred experience of movement has been a key element of research in many social sciences, a result of the influence of theorists such as Michel Foucault for whom the body was central to the modern system of discipline and control, and of anthropology with its interest in the ritual, symbolic and classificatory roles of the body.<sup>13</sup> Thus, the body has been interpreted as an ‘effect of deeper structural arrangements of power and knowledge’ and ‘a symbolic system which produces a set of metaphors by which power is conceptualised.’<sup>14</sup> Movement of the body is ‘a performative action consciously and unconsciously effecting social and cultural transformations.’<sup>15</sup> Pilgrimage provides the catalyst for certain kinds of bodily experiences in a ritual framework of movement, a performance of acts linking the individual to the sacred. Scholars have sought to reappraise the visual and material agencies in landscape in shaping subjectivities and geographical imaginations; landscapes are not blank canvases but complex

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<sup>10</sup> Simon Coleman and John Eade (eds), *Reframing Pilgrimage. Cultures in Motion* (London, 2004), 5.

<sup>11</sup> della Dora et al, (eds), *Christian Pilgrimage, Landscape and Heritage*, 1.

<sup>12</sup> Coleman and Eade (eds), *Reframing Pilgrimage*, 1.

<sup>13</sup> Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, transl. Alan Sheridan (London, 1977); Michel Foucault, *A History of Sexuality volume 1: An Introduction*, transl. Robert Hurley (London, 1979).

<sup>14</sup> Bryan S. Turner, ‘The body in western society: social theory and its perspectives’, in Sarah Coakley (ed.), *Religion and the Body* (Cambridge, 1997), 15–16.

<sup>15</sup> Coleman & Eade (eds), *Reframing Pilgrimage*, 16; see also John Urry, *Sociology Beyond Societies: Mobilities for the Twenty-First Century* (London, 2000).

textures, ‘speaking back’ to the beholder staring at or traversing it.’<sup>16</sup> However, most anthropologies of journeys and landscapes use living subjects and witnesses. Reconstructing the perception and experiences of the post-medieval Jacquilot on one of the French routeways to Compostela or the Miquelot journeying across Normandy to the Avranches coastline is more of a challenge.

A key theoretical and methodological tool for understanding the relationship between human and landscape has been that of phenomenology. As Chris Tilley writes, ‘knowledge of landscapes, either past or present, is gained through perceptual experience of them from the point of view of the subject. ... The objective is to describe a rich or ‘thick’ description, allowing others to comprehend these landscapes in their nuanced diversity and complexity and to enter into these experiences through their metaphorical textual mediation.’<sup>17</sup>

Embodiment is a central term here. Experience of landscape is one ‘that takes place through the medium of his or her sensing and sensed carnal body.’<sup>18</sup> The researcher ‘enters into the landscape and allows it to have its own effect on his or her perceptive understanding. This approach means accepting that there is a dialogic relationship between person and landscape.’<sup>19</sup> Of course, this subjective methodology is riven with hazards when related to living humans whose opinions can be asked; for past societies, it has huge problems, not least of anachronism. However, if we look at landscape phenomenologically through the autobiographical accounts of sixteenth and seventeenth century pilgrims, the primary source basis for this essay, we do learn something of their priorities and interests. We can see that

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<sup>16</sup> della Dora et al, (eds), *Christian Pilgrimage, Landscape and Heritage*, 7.

<sup>17</sup> Christopher Tilley, *Interpreting Landscapes. Geologies, Topographies, Identities*, Explorations in Landscape Phenomenology 3, (Walnut Creek CA, 2010), 25.

<sup>18</sup> Tilley, *Interpreting Landscapes*, p. 25.

<sup>19</sup> Tilley, *Interpreting Landscapes*, p. 26.

‘the landscape is both iconic and a central spiritual resource in its own right’ for it combines ‘visual spectacle, cultural interest and embodied experience.’<sup>20</sup> Thus seen, ‘landscape and its landforms are ... not mere blank canvasses passively imprinted with meanings, but complex textures ‘speaking back’ to the beholder staring at or traversing it.’<sup>21</sup> Both the landscapes themselves and their meanings to contemporaries also changed over time.

## **I. The Landscape of Religious Travel.**

Of the natural landscape itself, pilgrims make few observations and there was little change over time in this absence of description. The overwhelming sense from pilgrim writers – in contrast to some other travellers, who might admire a view, for example – is that of inconvenience, hazard, barrier and danger, that of the sublime in the original sense of the word. The landscape throws up obstacles to overcome, to reach the holy destination. Indeed, the more a place showed itself to be wild, the more grace was bestowed on the pilgrim for the arduous journey.<sup>22</sup> For pilgrims to the Mont Saint-Michel, the island/promontory was ‘La Merveille’, an architecture marvel built on a rock in one night by angels, but its tidal access made it treacherous to approach. Jacques-August de Thou described the Mont in these terms in 1580: ‘one must be surprised that from a sterile desert, far from all commerce, with access so difficult that one can hardly approach it by boat even when it is bathed by the sea, that the faith of our ancestors made such a marvellous place, and that they overcame such obstacles and difficulties’.<sup>23</sup> Claude Haton remarked that pilgrims travelled from the mainland to the

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<sup>20</sup> della Dora et al, (eds), *Christian Pilgrimage, Landscape and Heritage*, 1.

<sup>21</sup> della Dora et al, (eds), *Christian Pilgrimage, Landscape and Heritage*, 6–7.

<sup>22</sup> S. Germain de Franceschi, *D'encre et de poussière: l'écriture du pèlerinage à l'épreuve de l'intimité du manuscrit* (Paris, 2010), 293.

<sup>23</sup> ‘Mémoires de Jacques-Auguste de Thou depuis 1553 jusqu'en 1601’, in J.A.C. Buchon ed., *Choix de chroniques et mémoires sur l'histoire de France* (Paris, 1836), 590.

Mont led by a local guide, a necessity for visitors who were unfamiliar with the shifting sands and the sea.<sup>24</sup> The tides were treacherous. A mid-seventeenth-century Breton pilgrim, Pierre Le Gouvello, went over the sands without a guide and got caught by the incoming sea. He managed to swim to safety and thereafter recited 40 Ave Marias daily in honour of St Michael.<sup>25</sup> An eighteenth-century English visitor, William Wraxall, saw ‘in the churchyard of Genet, a grave where 5 persons were interred, who perished within these few days, and similar accidents are common.’<sup>26</sup>

The Compostelan pilgrim had high mountains and rivers to cross and the journey generally lasted several months rather than days or weeks. Again, sublime landscape observations prevail. The Italian priest Domenico Laffi from Bologna travelling in the 1660s, described the Alpine foothills between Cesara and Montgenièvre in France as ‘extremely dangerous. One goes between great crags and sheer rock faces which by the look of them are about to fall. The ravine is about two leagues long and strikes terror in everyone, because of the many who have been killed by avalanches and broken fragments that are continually falling from the mountains’.<sup>27</sup> The climb through the Pyrenean pass was also frightening: after St Jean Pied de Port:

We walked all the while between precipitous mountains, which are terrifying just to look at. They seemed as if they were always about to fall on top of you. Night fell

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<sup>24</sup> Félix Bourquelot (ed.), *Mémoires de Claude Haton* (Paris, 1858), 895.

<sup>25</sup> Hyppolite Le Gouvello, *Vie du pénitent breton Pierre Le Gouvello de Kériolet* (Paris, 1890 reprinted 1996), 57.

<sup>26</sup> N. Wraxall, *A Tour through the Western, Southern and Interior Provinces of France in a Series of Letters*, (Dublin, 1786), 37.

<sup>27</sup> Domenico Laffi, *A Journey to the West. The diary of a seventeenth-century pilgrim from Bologna to Santiago to Compostela*, transl. James Hall (Leiden, 1997), 45.



while we were still among these precipices. ... We kept on climbing the very high and rugged hills for a stretch of seven leagues. It was a frightening and dangerous journey. In the end, with the help of God and St James of Galicia we reached the very top of the Pyrenees. ... There is a small very old chapel here. We went in – there are neither doors nor windows that can be closed – and sang the *Te Deum Laudamus*, to give thanks to God for having brought us here safe and sound, in his infinite mercy.<sup>28</sup>

Laffi calls the Paradise Bridge near to Burguete in Spain, the bridge of Hell, for ‘it spans a big, deep river that runs between two high hills ... the water, though it is clear, in fact looks black. It is so fast-flowing that it fills the traveller with fear and trembling. The bridge is guarded by soldiers better described as thieves and murders’ and in fact Domenico was so frightened by their manner that he ran for a league after leaving the bridge.<sup>29</sup> Jean Bonnecaze, travelling from Pardies in Béarn in the early eighteenth century, was forced to lay up at the abbey of Roncevalles for two nights because of snow; when he went on his way, the snow was still knee deep, until he got into the lowlands.<sup>30</sup> In New Castile, again the weather not the landscape was memorable: constant rain soaked Bonnecaze to the skin, every day for almost a month.<sup>31</sup> Good landscapes were agrarian and tamed: Laffi describes approaching Avignon, with ‘a beautiful, flat, countryside where there are trees bearing every kind of fruit’ while that of the Beziers region was ‘truly beautiful, growing every kind of fruit and cereals’.<sup>32</sup> Fruitful nature, not wild landscape, was approved. The model of the *Via crucis* – the way of the Cross, in imitation of Christ – was everywhere else.

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<sup>28</sup> Laffi, *A Journey to the West*, 94.

<sup>29</sup> Laffi, *A Journey to the West*, 113.

<sup>30</sup> N. de Caumont, G. Manier et J. Bonnecaze, *Chemins de Compostelle, Trois récits de pèlerins 1417–1726–1748*, ed. Valérie Dumeige (Paris, 2009), 175.

<sup>31</sup> Bonnecaze, *Chemins de Compostelle*, 174.

<sup>32</sup> Laffi, *A Journey to the West*, 49, 67, 69

Some pilgrims died en route. The parish registers of the diocese of Le Mans contain numerous references to pilgrims who died on the journey to and from the shrines of Saint-Méen near to Rennes and that of the Mont Saint-Michel. In 1677, the parish register of Cuillé records the death and burial of Julien Le Ray, returning with his wife from the shrine at Saint-Méen to their home at Saint-Sulpice on the Loire.<sup>33</sup> On 29 August 1679, a poor pilgrim called René Trouain died of a ‘virulent malady’ in the barn of Jean Ferre in La Roë parish, Ferre having permitted the sick man to sleep there. In Trouain’s pocket, the parish priest of La Roë found certificates from the parish priest of La Couture in the Vendée and from one of the priests of the Congregation of the Mission of Saint-Méen, who attested to Le Ray’s having taken communion on 16 July. After the burial, the priest of La Roë sent the certificates to the priest of La Couture, to inform the community of the man’s death.<sup>34</sup> In 1709, the parish priest of Colombiers-du-Plessis recorded the death and burial of Benoist Simon, aged 13–14 years old, travelling with another boy Louis Obouyer, returning from the Mont to their homes in Saint-Maurice, Burgundy.<sup>35</sup> The landscape was perceived, often justifiably, to be a realm of hardship and danger. The shrine was the destination and the journey had to be endured to reach this goal. This was a landscape perception that persisted among pilgrims even when

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<sup>33</sup> Archives Départementales [hereafter AD] de la Mayenne. Parish register Cuillé E dépôt 204/E7 1677.

[http://www.archinoe.fr/cg53/visualiseur/visu\\_etatcivil.php?id=530002805&PHPSID=a0ffbb6763ba8dfe153b5ffdfbd18ae4&w=1366&h=768](http://www.archinoe.fr/cg53/visualiseur/visu_etatcivil.php?id=530002805&PHPSID=a0ffbb6763ba8dfe153b5ffdfbd18ae4&w=1366&h=768)

<sup>34</sup> AD Mayenne. Parish register La Roë. Mairie 1679.

[http://www.archinoe.fr/cg53/visualiseur/visu\\_etatcivil.php?id=530006409&PHPSID=a0ffbb6763ba8dfe153b5ffdfbd18ae4&w=1366&h=768](http://www.archinoe.fr/cg53/visualiseur/visu_etatcivil.php?id=530006409&PHPSID=a0ffbb6763ba8dfe153b5ffdfbd18ae4&w=1366&h=768)

<sup>35</sup> AD Mayenne. Parish register Colombiers-du-Plessis E dépôt 52/E13 1709.

[http://www.archinoe.fr/cg53/visualiseur/visu\\_etatcivil.php?id=530002213&PHPSID=a0ffbb6763ba8dfe153b5ffdfbd18ae4&w=1366&h=768](http://www.archinoe.fr/cg53/visualiseur/visu_etatcivil.php?id=530002213&PHPSID=a0ffbb6763ba8dfe153b5ffdfbd18ae4&w=1366&h=768)

sightseeing travellers began to view the natural world in different terms in the eighteenth century.

The landscape recorded by pilgrims was above all a human landscape and its most frequently-noted feature was the landscape of hospitality: where and how they obtained sleep, food and drink. Many of the classic guides of the Compostelan pilgrimage are little more than itineraries of roads and overnight stays. Among the most notable features of the Camino of the later Middle Ages was the network of pilgrims' hostels provided by religious houses, confraternities and wealthy donors, providing a landscape of support for the modest or pious middling-sort traveller. The same was true of other long-distance routeways as well. By the later sixteenth century, in France, this tradition had begun to decay, a result of the depredations of the religious wars and economic problems reducing the financial support of these establishments. For example, at Pons, the *hôpital neuf* was one of the main hostels between Tours and Bordeaux and like many such establishments, combined care of the poor sick with hospitality for pilgrims. It was located in the southern suburb of the town, with the hospital accommodation built immediately on the west side of the road and a chapel on the east side, linked by a vaulted arch that spanned the route to Compostela. By the early sixteenth century, its buildings were in bad repair. In 1534, the *parlement* of Bordeaux ordered that the administration of its revenues should be taken over by competent officers. Subsequently, its administration was handed over to the knights of St John of Jerusalem, as a declaration of the prior Marc Gillier in 1547 shows. The wars of religion were severe in the region of the Saintonge, however, and in 1568–9 Pons was besieged and the hospital badly

damaged, losing its roof. Pilgrimage slowed in the region in these years, because of violence and insecurity on the roads.<sup>36</sup>

There was some restitution of French accommodation and support in the first half of the seventeenth century. In Pons in 1605, the pilgrim hospital was repaired and a new bell installed, financed by Antoinette de Pons, the local seigneur.<sup>37</sup> In an inventory of 1676, the hospital is recorded as having fourteen beds for pilgrims in the great hall and a further three in a little side room for women and girls; upstairs, there were two beds reserved for clergy pilgrims.<sup>38</sup> In 1617, the duke d'Épernon founded a hospital in Cadillac, dedicated to St Marguerite in honour of his wife, with twelve beds for the sick in one section and in another, six beds for passing poor pilgrims, who would also be given bread, wine and warmth for a maximum of two nights.<sup>39</sup> The hospital of Saint-Jacques in Paris was receiving pilgrims until 1672, when it transferred its functions to Saint-Gervais.<sup>40</sup> In Bordeaux, the Jesuits took over administration of the hospital of Saint James in the 1570s, overseeing its function as a foundling and pilgrim hostel. They replaced the priests of the former collegiate foundation with a lay hospitaller and a porter and put the finances on a sounder footing.<sup>41</sup> In 1567–8, the

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<sup>36</sup> AD Charente-Maritime H supplément 184 L'Hôpital Neuf de Pons; Pascal Even, 'L'Hôpital Neuf de Pons', in Adeline Rucquoi (ed.), *Saint Jacques et la France* (Paris, 2003), 492–95.

<sup>37</sup> AD Charente-Maritime H supplément 184 L'Hôpital Neuf de Pons.

<sup>38</sup> AD Charente-Maritime H supplément 185 L'Hôpital Neuf de Pons.

<sup>39</sup> P. Barret, and J.-N. Gurgand, *Priez pour nous à Compostelle. La vie des pèlerins sur les chemins de Saint-Jacques* (Paris, 1978), 162.

<sup>40</sup> Guillaume Manier, *Pèlerinage d'un paysan picard à Saint-Jacques de Compostelle au commencement du XVIIIe siècle*, ed. Baron Bonnault d'Houët [1890] (Le Mesnil sur l'Estrées, reprinted 2002), xvi.

<sup>41</sup> AD Gironde H non classé Jésuites Saint-James. H 2315 (3) Privilèges, droits etc; Jean Cavignac, 'Un Hôpital doublement spécialisé: l'hôpital Saint-James de Bordeaux (1564–1660)', *Actes du 97 Congrès national des sociétés savantes, Nantes, 1972, section philosophie et histoire* (Paris, 1977) 199–200.

income had been 1500 livres and the expenditure 2136 livres; accounts are patchy but in 1601 the income had risen to 4634 livres of which only 360 was used for pilgrims, the rest for the other functions of the hospital. The hospital in Bordeaux was active into the later seventeenth century, recording an annual average of 4,021 pilgrims for the years 1666–69.<sup>42</sup> In 1673, there were sixteen beds, ‘all cleanly kept’ and the linen comprised 80 sheets and 100 towels ‘the said linen all bleached and cleanly maintained’.<sup>43</sup> In the same period, the hospice of Saint-Jacques de Rodez was receiving about 2000 pilgrims a year.<sup>44</sup> But in the reign of Louis XIV, the Crown and city governments rationalised local hospital provision and poor relief, reducing institutional support for pilgrims as a result.<sup>45</sup> Also, laws of 1671 and 1687 forbade the pilgrimage to Compostela or anywhere outside of the kingdom, without permission of a secretary of state counter-signed by a bishop. This slowed pilgrimage through France.

In Spain, conversely, the dense provision of hostels and convents providing accommodation was maintained into the eighteenth century, although its quality varied. We get a sense of the variety and importance of the landscape of hospitality on the Camino in the account of Guillaume Manier, an early eighteenth-century pilgrim from Picardy. Manier stayed in a few pilgrims’ hostels in France, mostly in the larger cities: Paris, Pons, Bordeaux and one night sleeping in the old, ruined hostel of Ingrandes.<sup>46</sup> In Spain, the formal landscape of hostels was better, at least in the lowlands: Manier’s spent most nights here in monastery guest houses and pilgrim hospices: Santo Domingo, Burgos, Hontanas, Laon, and on the return journey,

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<sup>42</sup> AD Gironde H non classé Jésuites Saint-James. H 2315 (3).

<sup>43</sup> AD Gironde H non classé Jésuites Saint-James. H 2317 Novices, Pèlerins.

<sup>44</sup> Barret and Gurgand, *Priez pour nous à Compostelle*, 168.

<sup>45</sup> Dominique Julia, ‘Pour une géographie européenne du pèlerinage à l’époque moderne et contemporaine’, in Philippe Boutry and Dominique Julia, *Pèlerins et pèlerinages dans l’Europe moderne* (Rome, 2000), 34.

<sup>46</sup> Manier, *Pèlerinage d’un paysan picard*, 6, 23, 34.

Oviedo, Madrid, Pamplona and Roncevalles.<sup>47</sup> Castrojeriz had six hostels in the early modern period, each catering for a specific demographic for example that of San Juan took men only, for whom it had six beds, three for paupers and three for pilgrims.<sup>48</sup> The Hostal Real of Santiago de Compostela took fewer pilgrims and more sick and poor Galicians as the seventeenth century progressed, but even at the end of the century it was a favoured destination for many. Of the members of the confraternity of St James of Macon who recorded their journey in their register in 1716, one quarter stayed in the Hostal Real.<sup>49</sup> The quality of hostel accommodation was often poor by the eighteenth century, however. Bonnecaze stayed at Sillheiro hostel, which he described as ‘miserable’ and in the Augustinian hostel of Laon – where he had good care for a fever he contracted – he spent a night in a bed between three dead men, who died of an epidemic ravaging the hospital.<sup>50</sup> There remained in Spain a greater sense of the importance of charity to travellers, but the means with which they were supported clearly declined.

Just as important for pilgrim travellers were inns and accommodation in private houses. The Three Queens at Monarville, south of Paris and the Saint-Jacques at Bayonne, for example, were important staging posts for pilgrims, where fellow travellers could exchange information and form groups for part of the journey.<sup>51</sup> But for modest pilgrims such as Manier, private hospitality, in cottages and farms, for a few sous a night, was vital. For example, between 4 and 7 September, Manier slept in a barn near Notre-Dame de Cléry, at a

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<sup>47</sup> Manier, *Pèlerinage d'un paysan picard*, 59, 142–44.

<sup>48</sup> Julie Candy, *The Archaeology of Pilgrimage on the Camino de Santiago de Compostela, A landscape perspective*, BAR International Series 1948 (Oxford, 2009), 98.

<sup>49</sup> Georges Provost, ‘Les pèlerins accueillis à l’hôpital real de Saint-Jacques’ in Philippe Boutry and Dominique Julia, *Pèlerins et pèlerinages dans l’Europe moderne* (Rome, 2000), 130.

<sup>50</sup> Bonnecaze, *Chemins de Compostelle*, 177.

<sup>51</sup> Manier, *Pèlerinage d'un paysan picard*, 17, 43.

farm near Chambord and at a farm, on straw, at Mantlan, outside of Blois.<sup>52</sup> In October, he records having slept in a stable, on bracken and on boards, in different villages in south-west France.<sup>53</sup> In Spain, informal hospitality was also important, despite the greater number of hostels, particularly in the mountains. Jean Bonnecaze relates how he spent a night sleeping in a muddy barrel, paying three sous for a rack to keep him out of the wet.<sup>54</sup> Food as charitable alms was also available in many larger communities. Laffi noted in the 1670s that most towns in southern France gave out the *passado* to pilgrims, usually in the form of bread and wine, and that this continued in Spain.<sup>55</sup> The eighteenth-century Neapolitan pilgrim Nicola Albani, contrasted France and Spain: he was particularly struck by the organisation of food distribution to the poor and pilgrims in the larger Spanish towns.<sup>56</sup> Sleeping, eating, keeping warm and dry, the basics of human existence, made the institutions of hospitality the core landscape features of pilgrimage. The main change over time, in France more than Spain, was the increasing ‘privatisation’ of accommodation, as the old charitable foundations decayed under economic and political pressures.

Routeway markers were a feature of both the Compostelan and Montois pilgrim landscapes. Some were for practical assistance – to indicate the correct way – and others were markers of historical events, sacred and profane. The most frequently encountered marker was a cross, frequently of stone but also of wood. Philippa Woodcock has shown that the roads pilgrims took to the Mont through the county of Mayenne, were marked by crosses and wayside

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<sup>52</sup> Manier, *Pèlerinage d'un paysan picard*, 16, 19, 27.

<sup>53</sup> Manier, *Pèlerinage d'un paysan picard*, 43–45.

<sup>54</sup> Bonnecaze, *Chemins de Compostelle*, 175.

<sup>55</sup> Laffi, *A Journey to the West*, 48.

<sup>56</sup> Dominique Julia, ‘Curiosité, dévotion et politica peregrinesca. Le pèlerinage de Nicola Albani, melfitain, à Saint-Jacques de Compostelle (1743–45)’, in P. Boutry, P.-A. Favre and D. Julia, (eds) *Rendre ses vœux: les identités pèlerines dans l'Europe moderne (XVIe–XVIIIe siècles)* (Paris, 2000), 281.

chapels.<sup>57</sup> Pilgrims of a confraternity from Caen travelling to the Mont in 1634 noted that their trumpeter sounded his horn from time to time along the route, particularly before wayside crosses.<sup>58</sup> Thirty-three St James' crosses are known from the old diocese of Chartres.<sup>59</sup> Such crosses might have important social functions for pilgrims: in 1726, four young men from the Franche-Comté arrived at the village of Carlepont in Picardy, on their way to Compostela. The entrance to the village was marked by a cross called la Croix Minard; the pilgrims were received there by two of the leading inhabitants of the community with tambour and ensigns and given hospitality.<sup>60</sup> Pilgrims might also begin their journeys at such crosses. For Bonnezeze, the most notable feature of the plain of Roncevalles was again man-made: here, legend stated that Roland and his knights were killed in battle with the Vasques and a large iron cross was erected there. Bonnezeze and his companions said prayers at the cross, for the souls of the Christians killed at that site.<sup>61</sup> Laffi also notes in Spain the creation of way markers. At Hornillos, it was easy to lose the way on the sandy plain, but pilgrims made cairns of stones by the side of the correct routes; likewise, in woods with multiple paths, pilgrims stripped the bark from trees to indicate the right way to pass.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Philippa Woodcock, pers. comm.

<sup>58</sup> Michel de Saint-Martin, *Le voyage fait au Mont Saint-Michel (en 1634) par la confrérie de St-Pierre de Caen avec 22 ecclésiastiques et plusieurs habitants des autres paroisses, dont M. Pierrre de Rasivignan, fils aîné de M. de Chamboy, gouverneur de la ville et chasteau de Caen* (Caen, 1654), 428.

<sup>59</sup> Georges Provost, 'Identité paysanne et 'pèlerinage au long cours' dans la France des XVII – XIX siècles', in , in P. Boutry, P.-A. Favre and D. Julia, (eds) *Rendre ses vœux: les identités pèlerines dans l'Europe modern (XVIe–XVIIIe siècles)* (Paris, 2000), 395.

<sup>60</sup> Manier, *Pèlerinage d'un paysan picard*, 1.

<sup>61</sup> Bonnezeze, *Chemins de Compostelle*, 175.

<sup>62</sup> Laffi, *A Journey to the West*, 142.



Another key feature of the landscape of long-distance pilgrimage was the encounter with sacred nodes, that is, shrines and sacred sites along the way, recharging the holy batteries of the pilgrims, making the journey a cumulative experience. The landscape of long-distance pilgrimage was not simply a routeway or a nodal system of hospitality, but it incorporated a great number of activities and a range of places that were considered important to visit, see and participate in, sacred places in their own rights. Effectively, long-distant pilgrimages were a linear series of pilgrimages, each shrine offering indulgences and other spiritual benefits that accumulated for the pilgrim, where s/he gave thanks for the journey thus far and took a 'sacral recharge' to help him or her along the way.<sup>63</sup> Andrew Spicer and Will Coster call these routeways 'veins of sacred force', with the chapels, shrines and wells erected along them acquiring their own status as holy ground.<sup>64</sup>

In France, the sixteenth-century religious wars saw the destruction of many shrines, greater and smaller, or their decay through lack of travellers' financial support. Between Pons and Blaye in south west France, for example, there had been 'stations' at the abbey of Notre Dame de la Tenaille, which possessed nails from the crucifixion, and at the church of the abbey of Plein-Selve. Both of these were destroyed by Protestant forces and never restored.<sup>65</sup> There was, however, some resurgence in passage shrines after the religious wars had ended. Woodcock has found that the parish churches of Hambers and Bais, just off one of Mayenne's western routes to the Mont, underwent rebuilding in 1588 and 1612 respectively, marked with cockleshell decorations, perhaps to attract pilgrims off the route to visit chapels

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<sup>63</sup> Julia, 'Curiosité, dévotion et politica peregrinesca. Le pèlerinage de Nicola Albani', 298.

<sup>64</sup> 'Introduction' in Will Coster and Andrew Spicer (eds), *Sacred Space in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2005), 9.

<sup>65</sup> Jean Glénisson, 'De Pons à Blaye, sur le chemin de Saint-Jacques', pp. 469–484, in Adeline Rucquoi (ed.), *Saint Jacques et la France* (Paris, 2003), 469–84.

dedicated to St Michael.<sup>66</sup> In Spain, sites maintained their physical structures and there were clearly ‘must-visit’ places. Manier recounts devotions at the cathedral of Santo-Domingo, where he heard the story of the innocent hanged and acquired some votive cockerel feathers; Burgos, where he visited the famous statute of Christ in the Augustinian convent and bought paper Christs, touched against the figure; the Augustinian convent of Oviedo, where he gained indulgences for touching relics and acquired two rosaries similarly touched to the sacred objects.<sup>67</sup> Pilgrims treated the landscape as one of ‘stations’ of religious observance, with the pilgrimage being a procession through a sacred space.

Travelling priests such as Laffi were anxious to find a church in which to say mass every day and indeed, the churches and altars where he celebrated, made the pilgrimage special. When Laffi arrived in an episcopal city, he went straight to the bishop for a dimissory letter, for permission to celebrate mass in the diocese. Highlights of his pilgrimage were his saying mass in Milan, in the cathedral of Embrun, the church of the Trinitarians in heretic-dominated Montpellier, the cathedral of Pamplona; the altar of the Crucifix at the Augustinian convent of Burgos and Santiago itself.<sup>68</sup> Further, Laffi and his companions gained much from participating in local rites and ceremonies, when they happened upon them. So, they attended the public showing of the shroud of Turin as they passed through the city; they were guests at a wedding in Cesana and a funeral in Pontferrada; they participated in the Corpus Christi procession in Orthez and a Holy Sacrament procession in Logroño and received indulgences in Santo Domingo de la Calzada and San Juan de Ortea.<sup>69</sup> Pilgrims integrated themselves into the sacred landscape of their journey through physical presence in religious rites.

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<sup>66</sup> P. Woodcock, pers. comm.

<sup>67</sup> Manier, *Pèlerinage d'un paysan picard*, 54, 59, 108, 112.

<sup>68</sup> Laffi, *A Journey to the West*, 137.

<sup>69</sup> Laffi, *A Journey to the West*, 35, 93, 126, 131.

A marked feature of Counter Reformation pilgrimage was the frequency with which all pilgrims, lay and clerical, participated in the sacraments along the route to the shrine. A pilgrimage of the confraternity of Saint-Michel of Caen to the Mont in 1634, led by the son of the royal governor of the city, was conceived of as such at least by one of the chaplains who wrote up the journey for publication. The company spent its first night in Villedieu, where their priests sang mass at the church of the commandery of St John; then Avranches, where the party sang None and Vespers in the cathedral, then in the abbey church of the Mont Saint-Michel itself. The return journey went via Coutances cathedral and mass; Saint-Lo, with prayers and mass in the church; Bayeux cathedral, again with mass, then returning to Caen for a final *Te Deum*.<sup>70</sup> Nicola Albani's landscape of sacrality was marked by indulgence acquisition, confession and sacraments. Albani went to confession in the south of France whenever he encountered an Italian-speaking priest; in Spain, he confessed at Monserrat, Saragossa and Madrid, where again Italian confessors could be found, and at Compostella he undertook a general confession lasting for over four hours. In Albani's case, confession and eucharist were linked to his great interest in gaining indulgences, which he notes with satisfaction in his account of his travels.<sup>71</sup>

So, we can see from this exposition some of the physical landscape features which were important to early modern pilgrims on these northern routes. They were not so much of the natural world as that of humans, the framework of hospitality, route markers of the road-landscape and a network of shrines and sacred places. This was a nodal landscape, where food for body and soul were sought and consumed at key locations. As Candy argues, 'by thinking about the body as an artefact and as the means by which to perceive and become involved with the world it becomes easier to visualise the connection between people and the material

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<sup>70</sup> Saint-Martin, *Le voyage fait au MSM (en 1634)*.

<sup>71</sup> Julia, 'Curiosité, dévotion et politica peregrinesca. Le pèlerinage de Nicola Albani', 299, 301.

components of the shifting landscapes that they encounter and interact with.’<sup>72</sup> A pilgrimage incorporated a number of activities and a range of places that were considered important to visit, see and participate in.<sup>73</sup> A pilgrimage journey was a metaphysical, sacred landscape, one that shifted and changed with the material and devotional opportunities available to pilgrims, over time.

## **II. The Spiritual Landscape of Pilgrimage.**

The landscape of pilgrimage was much more than a physical experience of inns and shrines, rivers and mountains, however. The way in which the pilgrim interpreted and experienced these material sites was much less about their physicality and much more about their intellectual and spiritual context, that of the mental universe of the pilgrim him or herself. Phenomenology encourages us to think carefully about the physical landscape, its relationship with power structures, gender, social group and other factors, but it has a key methodological limitation: it is effectively present-centred, for it cannot reconstruct the thoughts of past people. What makes the pilgrim’s journey holy and therefore a landscape sacred, is his/her understanding of it, not ours. In this, pilgrims were well prepared in the early modern period, which saw the production of a wealth of guidance literature. Authors, generally members of religious orders, produced special booklets and pamphlets for pilgrims travelling to particular shrines, which combined history, miracles, prayers, meditations and devotions, for the journey as well as the shrine visit itself. Shrines themselves commissioned pamphlets which included prayers and meditations to use on location or at home – where they became spiritual exercises – or stimulated devotional works which were entirely for the imaginary: Jerusalem, which became pretty much inaccessible in this period and therefore entirely a spiritual journey; Our Lady of Loreto in Italy for whom ‘guides’ were produced by

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<sup>72</sup> Candy, *The Archaeology of Pilgrimage*, 17.

<sup>73</sup> Candy, *The Archaeology of Pilgrimage*, 22.

Luis de Granada and Louis Richeome among others; Notre Dame de Liesse, a royally-favoured site near Paris; even small scale shrines such as Verdelaix near Bordeaux and Fieulines in Picardy.<sup>74</sup> Confraternities also provided for and promoted pilgrimage to their long-distant shrine by providing literature and other meditational aids for their members.<sup>75</sup> Two features of this literature affected the pilgrim's view of the landscape of travel. First, as Wes Williams argues, narrative structure inscribed in the pilgrim journey was modelled on the Passion narrative, of difficulties, struggle, death, resurrection and redemption.<sup>76</sup> The journey, especially if arduous, favoured intimacy with God through asceticism and penance. Walking was a form of prayer; tiredness and the injuries along the way, a true participation in the suffering endured by Christ on his way to the cross. The road could be seen in eschatological terms, an image of life as a quest for eternal life, whose trials – such as the possibility of sickness and death – were a cause of anxiety but also an assurance of salvation.<sup>77</sup> The pilgrim's journey was an elementary and primordial form of penitence, a permanent prayer, more meritorious than it was painful.<sup>78</sup>

Secondly, authors counselled their readers on appropriate actions and behaviours to ensure a righteous outcome. From the end of the sixteenth century, much of this literature was linked

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<sup>74</sup> Luis de Granada, *Istruttione de' Peregrini che vanno alla Madonna di Loreto, et ad altri luoghi Santi* (Macerata, 1575); Richeome, 'Le pèlerin de Lorète'. For discussion of other examples see, Bruno Maes, *Les livrets de pèlerinage. Imprimerie et culture dans la France moderne* (Rennes, 2016).

<sup>75</sup> Stefano Simiz, *Confréries urbaines et dévotion en Champagne (1450–1830)* (Villeneuve-d'Ascq, 2002), 214–29; M.-H. Froeschlé-Chopard, *Dieu pour tous et Dieu pour soi. Histoire des confréries et de leurs images à l'époque moderne* (Paris, 2006).

<sup>76</sup> Wes Williams, *Pilgrimage and Narrative in the French Renaissance* (Oxford, 1998), 173.

<sup>77</sup> Jean Mesnard, 'La quête du pèlerin de Saint-Jacques selon Alphonse Dupront', in Adeline Rucquoi (ed.), *Saint Jacques et la France* (Paris, 2003), 17.

<sup>78</sup> Barret and Gurgand, *Priez pour nous à Compostelle*, 115.

to interiority, the refashioning of the Christian through meditation, prayer and participation in the sacraments. The spiritual profit of the journey had great significance, ‘the very act of being on a pilgrimage encompassed a set of deeply rooted ideas about exile, sojourns in foreign lands, the metaphor of the road and the life of Christ himself’ for the Church ‘rested upon an intellectual and spiritual genealogy that cast mankind as fated to live in perpetual exile... The righteous were those who persevered on their journey and chose the correct path through Christ’.<sup>79</sup> Thus, Robert Quatremaire’s pamphlet, *l’Histoire abrégée du Mont Saint-Michel* instructed pilgrims in ‘the motive and methods for usefully and righteously making the pilgrimage to the glorious archangel St Michael’. He wrote that pilgrims should not be too interested in the landscape because they ‘must not have the motive of satisfying human curiosity when on such a holy journey’.<sup>80</sup> Visiting such a place was not about sight-seeing, the aim was ‘to enliven the pilgrim’s faith, revive his hopes, warm his charity’ by witnessing places where God had made manifest aspects of his divine wisdom.<sup>81</sup> Pilgrims should travel ‘with great fervour’, ‘with sobriety’, ‘in silence’, and abstain from evil conversation, then confess and take communion when they reached the shrine. Monsieur de Quérolet, a Breton nobleman turned ascetic priest, journeyed to and from Compostela ‘so deep in meditation upon Our Saviour’s Law and greatness, that for fear of being distracted, he always walked at some distance from his companion and they talked only when necessary’.<sup>82</sup> Increased

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<sup>79</sup> Candy, *The Archaeology of Pilgrimage*, 7.

<sup>80</sup> Robert Quatremaire, *l’Histoire abrégée du Mont Saint-Michel* (Paris, 1668).

<sup>81</sup> Dominique Julia, ‘Le pèlerinage au Mont-Saint-Michel du XVe au XVIIIe siècle’ in Pierre Bouet, Giorgio Otranto and André Vauchez (eds), *Culte et pèlerinages à Saint Michel en Occident. Les trois monts dédiés à l’archange*, (Rome, 2003), 306.

<sup>82</sup> M. Collet, *La Vie de Monsieur de Quérolet, prestre et conseiller au parlement de Rennes, ami du Père Bernard* (Saint-Malo, 1680, 1771), 82.

emphasis on transformations in the self we see in pilgrim tracts perhaps prompted more emphasis on the journey itself than on the destination.<sup>83</sup>

Finally, the landscape of pilgrimage could be entirely imagined or interior, for spiritual journeys increased in popularity as a devotional device in the Counter Reformation. True pilgrimage was interior. Pilgrimage guides were written for the actual pilgrim but also for the virtual pilgrim, who could imagine the landscape features of the stages of the described journey, as a meditative act. Luis de Granada's influential work *Le Vrai chemin* was structured as a journey to Jerusalem although unlike 'real' pilgrimage books, it was addressed overtly to young women, who rarely undertook long-distance travel, illustrating its interior, spiritual design.<sup>84</sup> Wes Williams argues that Jerusalem gradually ceased to exist as a primarily real place in the early modern European imagination, being gradually replaced by an imagined Jerusalem, less a place than a topic, part of a narrative or devotional sequence and a means to prayer.<sup>85</sup> This is true of the majority of distant destinations. Richeome's *Pilgrim of Loreto* was likewise for the spiritual as much as the physical pilgrim. Quatremaire's and Le Charpentier's booklets for pilgrims to the Mont could be used at home as well as away, being full of prayers and devotions enhanced with a woodcut illustration of the archangel Michael and the Mont. Meditative reading became 'cognitive mapping' of sacred landscape: the 'inner landscape merges the perceived experience of the place with the imagined symbolic meaning of the place to the individual.'<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> Coleman and Eade (eds), *Reframing Pilgrimage*, 10.

<sup>84</sup> Luis de Granada, *Le vrai chemin et adresse pour acquerir et parvenir à la grace de Dieu* (Paris, 1579); Williams, *Pilgrimage and Narrative*, 85.

<sup>85</sup> Williams, *Pilgrimage and Narrative*, 172.

<sup>86</sup> Pamela J. Stewart and Andrew Strathern, *Landscape, Memory and History. Anthropological Perspectives*, (London, 2003), p. 5.

The Catholic Reformation thus saw the promotion of new spiritual and devotional activities, at all social levels although they differed in terms of time, place and social group. Interiority to some degree was key; spiritual life turned inwards, religious persons ‘adopted wholeheartedly the practice of mental prayer and the faith underwent a process of internalization and turning towards Christ.’<sup>87</sup> Throughout Europe, sacramental penance altered with the introduction of individual confession in the discretion of the confessional box, first introduced by Archbishop Carlo Borromeo in Milan diocese. The booth ‘facilitated a private conversation between priest and penitent and encouraged the use of the sacrament for individual spiritual direction.’<sup>88</sup> The general confession became widespread, to evoke deeper contrition and more profound self-knowledge. More frequent reception of communion was advised. While historians have rightly questioned the degree of penetration of such practices down the social scale, it is clear from the popularity of pilgrimages and that of the acquisition of plenary indulgences from shrines – which required confession and communion to ‘action’ them – that these new spiritualities were being adopted by individuals of humble social backgrounds. Philip Soergel’s comments on southern Germany are also true of France, that already by the seventeenth century, clerical writers such as Martin Eisengrein ‘were beginning to link extra-sacramental practices such as pilgrimage to the examination of conscience and to insist that these institutions could deepen knowledge of an individual’s unworthiness’ are pertinent here.<sup>89</sup> Within the framework of the concept of pilgrimage, the encouragement of many ordinary people to interiorised spirituality was enacted. Spiritual imaginary and physical pilgrimage were inter-related.

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<sup>87</sup> S.T. Nalle, *God in La Mancha. Religious Reform and the People of Cuenca, 1500–1650* (Baltimore, 1992), 135.

<sup>88</sup> Robert Bireley, ‘Early Modern Catholicism as a Response to the Changing World of the Long Sixteenth Century’, *Catholic Historical Review*, 95 (2009), 239.

<sup>89</sup> Philip M. Soergel, *Wondrous in His Saints. Counter-Reformation and Propaganda in Bavaria*, (Berkeley CA, 1993), 119.



### III. Conclusions.

Recent research has stressed the role of practice and performance in the shaping and experiencing of landscape. The assemblage of the self – in this case, Christian pilgrims on long-distance journeys – through embodied encounters with the landscape have come to the fore.<sup>90</sup> A pilgrim journeyed through a landscape and landforms that were not merely blank canvases passively imprinted with meanings but were complex textures. Pilgrims recorded – and likely saw – primarily, a landscape of human activity, roads, wayside markers, bridges, inns, houses, interspersed with special places of divine intervention, leading up to the final, great achievement of attaining the destination shrine. Natural wonders were observed; nature was wild, untamed and frequently hostile; but this was not the first interest of the pilgrim. The landscapes through which pilgrims passed were also understood allegorically, their natural features and the hardships of the road narrated in biblical terms. As Candy states, ‘for pilgrims, immersed in the rhythm and ‘liminal space’ of walking, and already susceptible to certain ideas and opinions, the sequences of encounters could set in motion more complex ideas about topography, the meaning of the pilgrimage, religious experience, mythical landscape and their role within it.’<sup>91</sup> Such was the spiritual value of journey and landscape that it was used as a meditative device for all Christians, whether or not they travelled physically.

The shrine, pilgrim route and the wider landscape were deeply intertwined as part of the pilgrim experience, whether physical or metaphysical: as Maddrell argues, ‘landscape is the land itself and the way in which we perceive and represent it. It is both a thing and a way of seeing. Landscape is an insistent visual concept, shaped in the very act of our perceiving it,

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<sup>90</sup> della Dora et al, *Christian Pilgrimage*, 6.

<sup>91</sup> Candy, *The Archaeology of Pilgrimage*, 133.

by our mindscape, but it is also an historical text'.<sup>92</sup> Pilgrim landscapes were for the body to achieve, but for the soul to understand. As Ignatius Loyola wrote, himself a well-travelled pilgrim in both physical and spiritual modes: 'We must remind ourselves that we are pilgrims until we arrive at our heavenly homeland, and we must not let our affections delay us in the roadside inns and lands through which we pass, otherwise we will forget our destination and lose interest in our final goal'.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> della Dora et al, *Christian Pilgrimage*, 6

<sup>93</sup> *Monumenta ignatiana: Epistolae et instructions*, 12 vols, (Madrid, 1903–11): Ep 6:523.